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C O N F I D E N T I A L WARSAW 12294 COMBINED SECTION

E.O. 12065: RDS-4 12/18/01 (MEEHAN, FRANCIS J.) OR-M
TAGS: MPOL, PGOV, PINS, PL
SUBJECT: MEETING WITH CZYREK

1. CONFIDENTIAL - (ENTIRE TEXT)

2. SUMMARY: CZYREK ARGUED VIGOROUSLY WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON THAT HE COULD NOT UNDERSTAND THE USG DECISION TO DEFER ACTION ON POLISH ASSISTANCE. I TOLD HIM WE HAD NO ALTERNATIVE TO SUSPENDING AID DECISIONS IN LIGHT OF THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW. CZYREK SAID JARUZELSKI RELUCTANTLY PROCLAIMED MARTIAL LAW. THE ACTION WAS NECESSARY TO PREVENT ANARCHY AND PRESERVE THE POSSIBILITIES OF REFORM AND RENEWAL. HE ASSERTED THOSE INTERNED COULD BE RELEASED AS SOON AS THE SITUATION BECOMES MORE CALM AND THEY ARE WILLING TO COOPERATE IN AN ACCORD AND ANNOUNCE THAT DECISION PUBLICLY. I TOLD CZYREK THE INTRODUCTION OF MARTIAL LAW AND ARREST OF SOLIDARITY LEADERS ALIENATED

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State Dept. review completed

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AMERICANS WHO EQUATED SOLIDARITY'S CONTINUED EXISTENCE WITH FREEDOM IN POLAND. I ASKED IF I COULD SEE WALESA. CZYREK DID NOT RESPOND. END SUMMARY.

3. CZYREK RECEIVED ME LATE YESTERDAY AFTERNOON, ALMOST IMMEDIATELY AFTER MY ARRIVAL IN WARSAW. HE IS THE HIGHEST RANKING PARTY AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL -- FOREIGN MINISTER, POLITBURO MEMBER AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY -- THAT EMBASSY HAS SEEN SINCE THE IMPOSITION OF MARTIAL LAW. IN THE TWO HOUR SESSION CZYREK STRESSED THE GENERAL'S RELUCTANCE IN RESORTING TO THIS MEASURE WHICH HE CONTENDED WAS PREVENTING CIVIL WAR AND ANARCHY WHILE KEEPING OPEN "THE ROAD TO RENEWAL." HE PRESENTED A REASONABLY OPTIMISTIC VIEW OF THE SITUATION, ASSERTING THAT AS OF YESTERDAY AFTERNOON THERE WERE STRIKES IN ONLY 53 PLANTS IN 9 PROVINCES WITH THE TREND DECIDEDLY TOWARD STABILITY. HE SAID THE TAKEOVER BY THE ARMED FORCES WAS THE LAST CHANCE TO SOLVE THE CRISIS BY POLISH HANDS.

4. CZYREK ASSERTED THE GOVERNMENT STANDS READY TO RELEASE THE INTERNEES AND RETURN POLAND TO NORMALCY IF TWO CONDITIONS ARE MET:
---THE GENERAL SITUATION BECOMES MORE CALM;
---THE FORCES OPPOSED TO THE GOVERNMENT --READ SOLIDARITY--ARE PREPARED TO APPROVE ACCORD AND MAKE DECLARATIONS IN THIS SPIRIT.

5. CZYREK ASSERTED THAT OF THE 44,000 SOLIDARITY ACTIVISTS ONLY A FEW PERCENT WERE INTERNED, A FORM OF DETENTION HE LABELED "ADMINISTRATIVE ISOLATION." HE SAID WALESA HAD BEEN DRIVEN TO WARSAW FOR TALKS (PRE-SUMABLY ON DEC. 15 AS PREVIOUSLY REPORTED) WHERE HE MET WITH LABOR MINISTER CIOSEK AND BISHOP DABROWSKI. CZYREK REPORTED BOTH WALESA'S MOOD AND POSITION CHANGED CONSTANTLY.

6. TURNING TO YOUTH AND STUDENTS, CZYREK ASSERTED THAT THERE ARE EXTREMISTS IN THIS SECTOR WHO ARE MORE ACTIVE AND PROPOSE TO MARK THE DEC. 17 GDANSK ANNIVERSARY (THE DATE OF THE 1970 WORKER PROTEST AND MASSACRE IN GDANSK) TO DEMONSTRATE. HE SAID THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT INTERFERE

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WITH WREATH LAYING IN GDANSK, BUT WOULD NOT PERMIT STREET DEMONSTRATIONS.

7. CZYREK URGED THAT THE USG NOT POUR "GASOLINE ON THE FIRE" OR "ACT AS A CONVEYOR OF INSTRUCTIONS FOR A GENERAL STRIKE" -- AN APPARENT REFERENCE TO RFE AND VOA. HE APPEALED FOR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SITUATION AND EXPRESSED HIS HOPE THAT:

---THE US WILL FAVOR STABILIZATION ON THE BASIS OF POLISH SOLUTIONS TO THE CRISIS;

---BILATERAL RELATIONS, INCLUDING ECONOMIC TIES, WILL INTENSIFY.

8. CZYREK SAID THE GOVERNMENT DID NOT WANT TO AMEND ITS POLICIES AND THEREFORE RECEIVED WITH GREAT CONCERN THE INFORMATION FROM DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY SCANLAN THAT THE DECISION ON US FEED GRAIN SALES TO POLAND WAS SUSPENDED. HE CLOSED HIS HOUR LONG PRESENTATION BY EXPLAINING THE REGIME DOES NOT CONSIDER MARTIAL LAW THE BEST SOLUTION AND IS NOT HAPPY ABOUT IT, AND ASSERTING THAT RESTRICTIONS ON HUMAN RIGHTS ARE AS MILD AND LIMITED AS POSSIBLE AND TRANSITIONAL.

9. I POINTED OUT THAT THE USG REACTION HAD BEEN CAREFUL AND RESTRAINED. I MADE IT CLEAR THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION IN WASHINGTON THAT ECONOMIC DECISIONS HAD TO BE POSTPONED IN LIGHT OF THE SITUATION IN POLAND. THIS POSITION, I SAID, IS A MEASURE OF THE USG CONCERN FOR THE SITUATION.

10. I TOLD CZYREK I HAD BEEN STRUCK BY THE SYMPATHY FOR POLAND'S ECONOMIC NEEDS, ESPECIALLY IN THE CONGRESS, BEFORE MARTIAL LAW WAS DECLARED. THE EFFECT IN THE U.S. OF THE MARTIAL LAW DECLARATION WAS, HOWEVER, TOTALLY NEGATIVE. QUOTING THE VICE PRESIDENT'S REMARKS TO MADEJ, I SAID THE REALITY WAS THAT SOLIDARITY IN AMERICAN MINDS MEANS FREEDOM. THE ARREST OF ITS LEADERS RUNS CONTRARY TO THE VIEW OF WHAT IS GOOD FOR POLAND POPULARLY HELD IN THE UNITED STATES. STABILIZATION WAS AN AMBIGUOUS TERM. WE WOULD VIEW CERTAIN TYPES OF STABILIZATION IN POLAND IN A VERY NEGATIVE LIGHT.

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11. I SAID THERE WOULD BE PARTICULAR CONCERN IN THE U.S. ABOUT WALESA'S SITUATION. HE WAS AN IMMENSELY POPULAR FIGURE IN OUR COUNTRY. I ASKED CZYREK IF I COULD VISIT WALESA. HE DID NOT RESPOND.

12. I TOLD CZYREK THERE WAS IMMENSE UNCERTAINTY IN WASHINGTON ABOUT EVENTS IN POLAND. MANY SEE MARTIAL LAW AS A NEGATIVE AND ACTUALLY DESTABILIZING DEVELOPMENT. I SAID I WANTED TO CONVEY AS ACCURATE A PICTURE OF EVENTS IN POLAND AS I COULD, AND I ASKED HIS HELP IN ARRANGING OTHER MEETINGS WITH THE HIGHEST LEVELS OF THE POLISH GOVERNMENT.

13. I TOLD CZYREK I WAS CONCERNED TO FIND SEVERAL STEPS WERE TAKEN IN MY ABSENCE TO LIMIT THE ABILITY OF THE EMBASSY TO FUNCTION NORMALLY. I REVIEWED THE RESTRICTIONS ON THE TRAVEL OF EMBASSY OFFICERS, THE DENIAL OF ACCESS TO THE EMBASSY BY POLISH CITIZENS AND THE INTERFERENCE WITH AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO WERE ATTEMPTING TO ENTER THE EMBASSY. I ALSO OBJECTED TO OUR POLISH EMPLOYEES HAVING TO RE-REGISTER WITH THE LABOR OFFICE. CZYREK SHRUGGED OFF MY PROTEST BY SAYING: "THAT'S MARTIAL LAW."

14. CZYREK RETURNED TO BROADER THEMES. HE ASKED WHAT THE USG WOULD CONSIDER A POSITIVE EVOLUTION IN POLAND. I TOLD HIM THAT, IN GENERAL TERMS, WE HOPED TO SEE A CONTINUATION OF THE PROCESSES OF THE LAST YEAR OF RENEWAL, REFORM AND THE SEARCH FOR A BROAD NATIONAL CONSENSUS. THE WEST, AS A WHOLE, WAS INTERESTED IN STABILIZATION IN POLAND, BUT WHEN AND ON WHAT BASIS WOULD STABILIZATION OCCUR? AS FAR AS I WAS CONCERNED, I SAW LITTLE CHANCE OF ECONOMIC RECOVERY WITHOUT AN ACCORD BETWEEN SOLIDARITY AND THE GOVERNMENT. THE PROBLEM NOW IS ENORMOUSLY COMPLICATED WITH SOLIDARITY'S LEADERSHIP IN JAIL.

15. CZYREK RESPONDED THAT POLAND COULD NOT ACHIEVE STABILITY WITHOUT WESTERN ECONOMIC HELP. IN OUR CASE, IF POLAND WERE UNABLE TO OBTAIN CORN FROM THE UNITED STATES, THE POULTRY INDUSTRY WOULD BECOME EXTINCT AND THIS

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WOULD FURTHER EXACERBATE THE MEAT SUPPLY SITUATION. THE
USG POSITION WOULD NOT BE CONFINED TO THE US BUT
WOULD AFFECT THE WHOLE NATO ALLIANCE AND, HE SAID,
"THIS IS ECONOMIC BLOCKADE."

16. I SAID THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF ECONOMIC BLOCKADE,
AND CZYREK ASKED HOW I WOULD DEFINE THE US ACTION.
RETURNING TO MY EARLIER POINT, I SAID IT SIMPLY IS
A CASE WHERE DECISIONS ON US ASSISTANCE ARE IN SUSPENSE--
A POSITION DICTATED BY OUR POLITICAL REALITIES IN
LIGHT OF THE MARTIAL LAW ACTION.

17. RETURNING TO SOLIDARITY, CZYREK SAID THAT DURING
SEARCHES OF SOLIDARITY OFFICES THE POLISH GOVERNMENT
FOUND EVIDENCE OF USG CONTACTS WITH THE UNION, "NOT
VERY PRETTY MATERIAL, WHICH DOES NOT DEMONSTRATE
YOUR PEOPLE WERE TRYING TO ADVISE MODERATION ON
SOLIDARITY, BUT RATHER THE OPPOSITE." I SAID THAT
AS I HAD POINTED OUT ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS, THE
PURPOSE OF OUR CONTACTS WITH SOLIDARITY WAS TO SEEK
INFORMATION. IT WAS NOT OUR TASK TO ADVISE SOLIDARITY
ON COURSES OF ACTION ANY MORE THAN IT WOULD BE PROPER
FOR US TO ADVISE THE CHURCH OR THE POLISH GOVERNMENT
WHAT TO DO.

18. COMMENT: CZYREK LOOKED LIKE THE CAT THAT HAD
SWALLOWED THE CANARY. HIS TALK ABOUT THE GOVERNMENT'S
TAKING THE MARTIAL LAW ACTION WITH A HEAVY HEART
SOUNDED COMPLETELY HOLLOW. HE WAS ALMOST CONTEMPTUOUS
OF SOLIDARITY AND WORKER RESISTANCE, DISMISSING WALESA
AS A CREATURE OF MOODS, OF NO PARTICULAR IMPORTANCE,
AND SAYING THAT AS SOON AS THE SECURITY FORCES MADE
IT CLEAR THEY MEANT BUSINESS, THE WORKERS CAVED AND
WENT HOME QUIETLY. SOME OF THIS MIGHT HAVE BEEN
WHISTLING IN THE DARK, BUT HE PUT A GOOD FRONT ON IT
AND SEEMED CONVINCED THAT THE GOVERNMENT HAD ALREADY
PREVAILED.

19. I PUSHED HEAVILY ON THE THEME THAT THE GOVERNMENT'S
ACTION WAS BASICALLY DESTABILIZING IN THAT IT MADE
NATIONAL CONSENSUS PRACTICALLY IMPOSSIBLE. I LINKED

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THAT POINT TO WESTERN ECONOMIC AID. UNTIL WE AND OTHERS COULD SATISFY OURSELVES THAT POLAND WAS POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY VIABLE, AID WOULD REMAIN COMPLETELY PROBLEMATIC. STABILIZATION WAS NOT ENOUGH. IT HAD TO BE STABILIZATION ON A BASIS ACCEPTABLE TO THE POLISH PEOPLE, IN LIGHT OF THE PAST YEAR'S DEVELOPMENTS. THE WEST WOULD BE WATCHING CLOSELY THE FATE OF THE IMPRISONED SOLIDARITY LEADERS. THERE SHOULD BE NO DOUBT IN THE REGIME'S MIND ABOUT THE DEPTH OF AMERICAN CONCERN ON THIS ISSUE.

20. I DO NOT BELIEVE MY BROADER COMMENTS HAD ANY PARTICULAR IMPACT ON CZYREK, WHO IS ONE OF THE REALLY TOUGH NUTS, BUT AT LEAST HE IS IN NO DOUBT THAT USG ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE IS NOT ON. THAT KIND OF LANGUAGE HE UNDERSTANDS.

21. MINIMIZE CONSIDERED. DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS REQUIRED.
MEEHAN

END OF MESSAGE

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